1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

land as descendants of Mataeletuapiko, the third Tui Kanokupolu, the Haa Ngata Motua chiefs already having land there. The tracts formerly belonging to the Haa Havea have now passed to Ata who is the hereditary lord.

The tract Vaoleleva, which is situated near Huatolitoli in the Hahake district, Tongatabu, was given by the Tui Tonga to Lavaka-vaoleleva and Ahomee. It was named after Lavaka-vaoleleva in gratitude for his hospitality to the Tui Tonga on the occasion when the Tui Tonga's preparations for a voyage to Vavau were delayed by a great famine in Tongatabu. On this occasion the meals were prepared from two great (breadfruit?) storage pits, of which there were many in the tract.

Following the slaying of the Tui Haa Takalaua Mulikihaamea in 1799, a man named Tongalava is reputed to have removed the body to Mua from a rock on which his slayers had placed it. At Mua it lay in state in a funerary house (*tolia*) for six months, while the royal tomb Langi Loamanu was being erected. After the funeral the relatives of the deceased gave three parcels of Mulikihaamea's land to Tongalava, in gratitude for his service. The parcels are the tracts Toutai, Toutai II, and Tatai. These were to be forever the property of his descendants, the donors said.

Haapai

The following narrative concerning land ownership in Haapai is told by Tevita Tunai, of Faleloa, Foa Island, Haapai.

When they were preparing for the Tui Tonga's trip to Samoa the people gathered presents for this trip and then Helu brought the presents and the chiefs sailed. When they arrived in Samoa they distributed the presents and the Samoans were pleased with the presents that Helu gave them. When the expedition returnd to Tonga, the Tui Tonga told Helu to choose anything he liked as a reward for his efficient services. Helu told the Tui Tonga just to give him a little piece of land. The Tui Tonga said, "Come and carry me." Then they went up to a hill called Toloke in Haano Island, and they turned back from there and then the Tui Tonga asked, "How is this?" Helu replied, "Go on to the promotory (*muifonua*) at Fakakakai."

Then Helu said, "Give me the promontory Houmatala," and Helu was satisfied when this was done.

Helu died and was buried in Lotofoa in a cemetery called Monotapu. The first Tungi told Tooi and Niulala to remove Helu's bones to Houmatala to bear witness that that is Helu's land, and then they cut a stone and inscribed the name and the date and the year. This stone was set up as a witness that the promontory was Helu's. The Tui Haa Takalaua was the immediate overlord anciently. The brother of the present Helu (who is mayor of Lotofoa) was matapule to the first Tungi, who replaces the abolished Tui Haa Takalaua line.

Vavau

Maatu, lord of Niuatoputapu, claimed unsuccessfully the island of Mafana in the Vavau group upon the following basis:

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

Lime made from coral was habitually used to cleanse the scalp and hair and to stiffen the hair so it would more readily remain erect.

GENEALOGIES

In Tonga the genealogies of the great chiefs seem not to have been kept by the priests. These great genealogies were in the custody of the elderly woman of chiefly rank who memorized them and taught them to the young chiefs. With the adoption of writing, this custom of learning genealogies by heart has fallen into disuse. It is said that the women who were the repositories of the genealogies often discussed them among themselves and thus refreshed one another's memories. The genealogy which was supplied to me by the Queen of Tonga was set down from memory by the Tamaha Amelia with the aid of the chief named Shadrach Mumui. As soon as these two learned to write they decided to record the genealogies of the great chiefs and this record which was begun more than 75 years ago has been continued down to date.

From a practical standpoint, the Tongans no doubt exhibited as much interest in genealogical information as did the other Polynesians, but from a theoretical and mythological standpoint they seen not to have evolved any great genealogical fictions, such as characterized the Hawaiians and other eastern Polynesians. In Tongan the ancestor is called *tefito* (literally, root, origin). King George I, in speaking of the present Prince Consort Tungi on the occasion of his birth, remarked, "This child is a tangled myrtle (*mailefihi*)," meaning that he combined many lines of descent, notably from the Tui Tonga on his mother's side, and from the Tui Kanokupolu on his fathers.

PERSONAL NAMES

Hundreds of Tongan personal names were recorded. The meanings of a number of these have been worked out by Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker and are published below. No doubt many of these personal names are nicknames, others are true names given in infancy, and a few are titles. As a rule, the same name is applied indiscriminately to males and females. The Tongans seem to give individual names, not only to persons and places, but also to animals and ships. Their application of names to ships seems to be very similar to the European. McKern (43) publishes a list of ancient ship names.

Dogs kept as pets were named, though I have no examples to offer. The great mythical dog of Moturiki, Fiji, which killed Maui, was named Fulupuputa, which means "stout hair." An ancient tortoise, which is the property of Queen Charlotte, is known by the name of Tui Malila. (Malila is a place in Lapaha, Tongatabu. It is said that the Tui Tonga was anciently

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

172 345 average thickness of 0.9 foot and an average length of 10 feet. The largest stone in the wall is 17.1 feet long, 1.2 feet thick and stands 3.7 feet above the ground. The outer edge of a stone in the southernmost wall has been exposed by the action of the waves so that its entire height is visible. Of its total height (5.6 feet), 2.8 feet were formrly above ground and 2.8 feet below ground. Judging from this approximately half of each stone in the retaining wall is buried as a foundation. Thus some of the stones must be very large.

The stones are carefully dressed on either end so that the flat end surfaces meet snugly. Surfaces and edges are smooth and straight. The corner stones are lapped evenly, no rule being observed in regard to which stone is outside in the lapping. No existing corner angle is a true right angle.

172 345 212 [324] The surface of the stone is soft enough to permit figures to be scratched or chiseled by means of any reasonably hard, pointed instrument. Incised figures appear on many

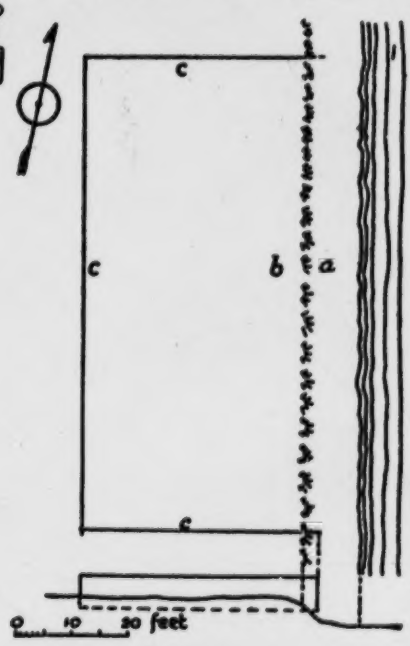

FIGURE 4

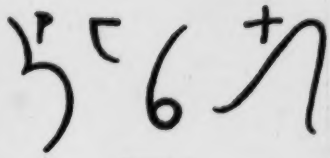

FIGURE 5

FIGURE 4.—Plan of the *esi* Makahokovalu, Uiha Island, Haapai: *a*, beach; *b*, precipitous shore line; *c*, stone retaining wall inclosing a platform 81 feet long and 39 feet wide.

FIGURE 5.—Reproduction of pictographs at the *esi* Makahokovalu.

[324] stones but are especially numerous on the two stones comprising the northwesternmost corner which are largely covered with incised English letters giving the initials and entire names of Tongans. On the westernmost of these corner stones is also a row

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

of curiously curved and crossed lines that certainly cannot be even the poorest of representations of English letters (fig. 5). A young Tongan, who was present at the time of my visit readily identified these figures as shorthand characters, such as are taught at the Government and Wesleyan colleges at Nukualofa. They are patently modern markings.

Professor Wragge of Auckland is reported to have identified Makahokovalu as a religious site connected with the sun worshipping practices of the primitive Tongans. I have failed to find any archaelogical evidence of sun worship, and Gifford (12) reports the absence of any evidence that sun worship was ever practiced by the Tongans. In spite of reports to the contrary, the mound is not intentionally orientated except with reference to the shoreline.

Makahokovalu shows the finest structural workmanship seen in Tongan *esi*. There are more imposing structures from a standpoint of size, particularly height, but in size of the stones in the retaining walls and the degree of skill in masonry, they compare favorably with the best executed langi platform tombs of the ancient Tongan rulers. In fact, this *esi* would be an excellent example of a one-tier langi except for the absence of fine sand or black pebbles, characteristic of the grave mounds. The place is actually referred to as a tomb in one myth recorded by Gifford (13, p. 68).

The name Makahokovalu may possibly be derived from an original number of eight large stones constituting the westernmost wall, only six of which are now in place. No other arrangement of eight stones could be found. In this connection it should be noted that eight seems to have been a favorite number to associate with mounds. For example, Lefelefevalu (Eight-sexual organs, p. 30): Kafoa, eight-stones at Kafoa (p. 11); Siahalavalu (Mound-of-eight-roads). However, in no one of these three structures was the number eight descriptive of structural peculiarities. It is suggested that the number eight, when so used, may have been a conventional term signifying many, or a well balanced number, and had no numerical significance.

7. Mangafakinanga, near Kolonga, Tongatabu.

The *esi* of Mangafakinanga consists of a rectangular mound with a convex upper surface, surrounded by a low perpendicular wall of dressed coral slabs placed on edge and end to end. It is said to have been the *esi* of the Tui Tonga Tuitatui, a famous ancient Tongan monarch generally accredited with the building of the great trilithon (p. 63). The structure is 35 feet long, 21.5 feet wide, and is 3 feet high. The retaining walls average 1 foot in height and 0.7 foot in thickness. Most of the stones of the south wall have been removed in comparatively recent times. The wall stones are about 3 feet long. All stone surfaces are rather smoothly dressed and componant parts of the wall fit snugly together. Corner pieces are lapped with no apparent regard as to which piece is outside. The westernmost wall extends in a direction N. 20° E.

Near the northeast corner of the mound and rising from the retaining wall, is a large monumental slab which measures: length above the ground 8.3 feet, width, 5.9 feet, thickness 1.4 to 2 feet. Though leaning inward at an angle of 75° from the

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
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121 pioneer missionary and explorer, who did much to make known
128 many islands of the Pacific. In the present compilation the collection of "Idiomatical Phrases" in the Tongan Vocabulary of the late Dr. Shirley Baker[1] has been included, as well as many
[114] expressions scattered throughout the body of that work. Valuable as Dr. Baker's work is, it is unfortunate that he has printed whole phrases as single words, and without literal translations or explanations. In almost every instance we have been able to separate into their component words and explain these expressions, but there is a small residuum that has not been elucidated by inquiries made among the Tongans of today. Baker's work has been in constant use, and we desire to acknowledge our general indebtedness to it. In the few instances where we have not been able to explain phrases published by him exact quotations have been made.

ORTHOGRAPHY

104 In orthography we have followed what seemed to be the easiest method for European readers. The nasalized *g*, written as *ġ* in the various Pacific dialects, we have written as *ng*. The pronunciation of course is like that of *ng* in the English word singer, and not like that in finger.

In Tonga itself animated discussion ranges around the letters
[111] [212] *b* and *p*, two symbols which have had an unfortunate history. The Methodist missionaries, who first regularly reduced the language to writing, used only *b*. The French Marists, who followed a few years later, wrote *p*. Subsequently an effort was made by Dr. Baker to combine the two. It is indubitable that there are sounds which strike the ear as an English *b*, and others as an English *p*, and yet others which it is extremely difficult for the ear to distinguish certainly as the one or the other. But the attempt to combine the two symbols has only introduced fresh confusion, as the language does not seem to contain two systematized series of
[194] sounds, the one *b* and the other *p*. The Tongan ear finds the greatest difficulty in distinguishing an English *b* from an English *p*.

[113] [1] Baker, Rev. Shirley W., An English and Tongan vocabulary, also a Tongan and English vocabulary. Auckland, N. Z., 1897.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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in a small income obtained from school-teaching or functioning as a minor civil-servant after college graduation. Here again however, college life does not represent any particular break with typical Tongan activities. College youth are expected to spend part of each day working on the college plantation raising their own food-staples. During out-of-college hours they are generally associated with the households of friends or relatives in Tongatapu. Their vacations are either spent with their own households in Pangai or else working at Tongan things in Tongatapu.

In sum, Tongan schooling may not be particularly efficient; but at least the directors of Tongan education have not made the educational process an effective instrument for separating the Tongan child from the satisfactions of his own culture and equally, from the satisfactions of European culture. Education in Pangai has been allowed to gear itself into the present-day patterns of village-culture with results that are adequate in almost every respect.

The establishment of schools with the structure of a formal educational system has been one of the most effective forces in changing the culture of the villagers from primitive to folk-culture. Nevertheless it is easy to overassess the role that literacy plays in village-life. The large majority of the villagers are able to write the Tongan language. Most of them can read Tongan. To what use however, are these abilities put? As far as one can judge there is very little use made of writing except in the very occasional signing of one's name to some legal or government document. The writing of letters is infrequent. The attitude of the villager here is that everything can wait until personal contact is established, either by personal visiting or by the use of a visiting intermediary. Similarly, the use of reading-skills is very limited. Its principal use for most is that of reading such familiar material as Bible-lessons or church hymns. Children in school naturally use simple reading-texts with secular topics. With school-days far behind, however, the Bible becomes all-important and here one's ability to read is sometimes almost entirely limited to its use in reviving memory of key-words in sacred texts that are otherwise well-remembered but temporarily forgotten. Some households also possess the single-paged printed combination almanac-

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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805 [213] calendar issued by the government printer. The only virtue of this calendar seems to lie in its possession, not in its use. Dated days are of no significance to the villager except to mark off one Sunday from another and this function is performed equally well or better by church-bell and pulpit-announcement.

212 [644] [793] So far we have been referring to the average villager. The village-overseer and the church-pastor make more use of reading and writing than the villager. For them these techniques are necessary for the study of government or church reports and notices, for the compilation in turn of their own reports. A few others in the village may also try to make effective use of their reading ability. Thus a village 212 875 829 school teacher, home in Pangai on vacation, had developed an interest in world affairs through a chance gift of a copy of *Reader's Digest*. Even the simplified English of this magazine was much too difficult for him, and it is doubtful whether he will long keep up his study of the magazine. One [554] [123] suspects that his initial and only interest in it was based on the prestige gained among his fellow-villagers by his apparent ability to discuss with us "in English" obscure subjects whose text was so obviously derived from what to the ordinary villager was the very mysterious page of an English-language magazine.

212 [451] Another villager interested in the use of his skills is Biukala. He carries on a very simplified book-keeping to provide a rough check on the sales of his garden-produce. He is an assiduous student of Biblical commentaries which he borrows from the missionaries in Neiafu. He writes an 212 177 829 occasional letter to his aged mother in Tongatapu. He is very keenly interested in keeping alive these skills which he has observed white men such as church-missionaries using so frequently. Here the incentive to use reading and writing techniques of white culture is far stronger than for the average villager. But this comes about from the fact that Biukala, for obscure personality reasons, is much more interested in adapting himself to the white man's culture than he is to the folk-culture of the village. This is particularly evident when Biukala talks of the future he has planned for his son, now a child of barely two years. For this child he talks of professions such as engineering,

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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which he has read about. That such professional ambitions for his child may be realized Biukala has decided that he must become as much like a white man as possible: particularly in the sense of being able to read and write easily, more particularly in his possession of what to him are large amounts of ready cash. But in this respect Biukala is a deviant in village-life. He does not represent in any sense the ideals or achievements of village-culture. He is rather an example of the way in which there is within the village, minor inequality in the use that is made of some of the traits that have been taken from white culture into village-culture as the result of culture-contact.

Preparation of Foods

The preparation of food does not show great variety. The staple vegetables are cooked by grilling on hot ashes, by baking in the earth-oven, by mixing with coconut-cream and then oven-baking, and finally by boiling (either with water or coconut-cream) in an empty five-gallon kerosene can. Oven-cooking is the most troublesome method. It demands a large supply of firewood and a long wait before the food is cooked. It is always used for feast foods but for everyday eating there is a tendency for boiling to supplant the use of the oven. Food may be baked by the average household once or twice a week. For the rest, the diet is boiled food. Kerosene cans are at a premium in the village. They have, after all, many uses ranging from a food container to a baby bath. Each household likes to have more than one as part of the household furniture.

Fruits are eaten raw, crushed or squeezed and then mixed with coconut-cream, baked with coconut-cream, sometimes boiled. Apart from coconuts and papaia, however, fruit figures little in the diet of the adult. Children ranging the bush are more likely to eat substantial amounts of wild fruits. Bananas are mostly boiled while green and unripe. Ripe bananas are saved for feasts.

Pork, chicken, and meat are cooked by oven baking. Canned meats and fish are eaten as they come from the can. Fresh fish is baked, grilled, or boiled.

Green leafy vegetables are seldom eaten. Sometimes *taro* leaves are oven-baked between layers of pork fat or

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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Between two extremes, there are such aspects of the culture as economics where a subsistence-economy that is largely Tongan in techniques and organization has been interpenetrated by a money-economy derived from European culture; or the ceremony of marriage where a Christian ritual and a civil registration have been imposed upon a Tongan way of marriage—here the Tongan form is likely to be submerged in the near future by an imported form that appeals because of its simplicity and is felt to be a necessity because of Christian teaching. But the function of marriage is still regarded in Tongan fashion as the producing of children.[35] There is as yet no evidence of a European cultural attitude that thinks in terms of contraceptives and planned parenthood.

Again, in customs relating to birth and death, Tongan practice is still largely followed in the village. Tongan midwifery is uniformly the rule at the birth of a child; and at death, Tongan customs are also followed with the exception that on the one hand Christian prayers and the singing of Christian hymns have now a part in the funeral proceedings, and on the other hand, villagers are all buried in the one village cemetery whereas in ancient aboriginal practice, before grouping in villages took place, a dead person was buried on his own plantation or under the floor of his house.

Finally, to take one more example, education, previously informal, has now become institutionalized by the establishment of a formal school-system. The curriculum and the content of this system are based on European models, the language of instruction is Tongan. This means that whatever changes are introduced into the village culture by the ability of the ordinary villager to read and write, nonetheless he is still viewing this culture through the medium of his own native language. The basis of communication within the culture, therefore, is still in terms of thought- and language-patterns which are given formal structure by the

[35] Dr. Lopdell gives us the case, which he regards as not untypical of Tongan belief and practice, of a still young married woman and her husband who had had twelve children in the first fifteen years of their marriage and none for two years thereafter, and who consulted him because of their worry over lack of more offspring. Their fear was that their neighbours would think that they no longer loved each other!

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

suggestion did not occur—namely, that the "Honourable and Reverend" Shirley Waldemar Baker, First Minister of the king and the State Church, had fallen from his high estate, and had been removed from the little kingdom where he had so long ruled the natives for their good and his own profit.

The tongue of rumour was hushed at last. Suva awoke one morning to find the Red Cross fluttering from the signal-staff, and her Majesty's ship, ironically christened the Rapid, creeping slowly along the reef. Almost before the yellow flag had been hauled down the news flashed along the beach that Baker had indeed fallen, and could not again set foot in Tonga for two years on pain of imprisonment.

A sketch of the events of the last few years cannot be avoided, but it shall be a sketch in outline only.

When George Tubou became king in 1845 his people were in the white-heat of a conversion to Christianity. The missionaries had taught them to read and write, and to pass a simple code of law. They had imbued them with envy of the dignity of civilised States,—their law courts, their police, the uniforms and salaries of their officials, and their other blessings of civilisation—including taxes. All these the Tongans might have if they were shown how to begin. For years there was no one to direct their nascent aspirations. Their teachers had no enterprise, and devoted themselves to the spiritual rather than the temporal needs of their flock; but at last with the necessity came the man. Mr Baker was a genius in his way. None knew better than he how to work upon the feelings of his congregation, or could better gauge the exact

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

III.

THE SHIP OF STATE AND HER CREW.

645 My first business was to see my colleague, George Tukuaho, who had sent to say that he was confined to his house with a bad headache. [212] On my last visit to Tonga, four years before, he was just recovering from a serious illness; and though I had seen much of his father, Tungi, I had only conversed once with Tukuaho, and then only upon such general subjects as the comparison of the military genius of Julius Cæsar and the first Napoleon, whose lives I had found him reading in his own language. 644 He was then commandant of the king's Guards, who numbered twenty men, and in that capacity he had had the shrewdness to outwit Mr Baker, then all-powerful. 645 It had suggested itself to the Premier's fertile brain that 744 military service might be turned to account against the 798 stiff-necked Wesleyans, and he had accordingly compelled a number of the College boys to enlist in the militia. They were first required to take the oath, but this they refused to do, unless they were told to what they were [687] going to bind themselves. A refusal to take the oath being at that time in the nature of sedition, they were

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

source of amusement for the first few days. On week-days they were taught shorthand and the higher mathematics by native tutors in cap and gown; in the evenings they sang incessantly in excellently sustained parts. On Saturday they turned out with knives and baskets to clean up the College premises; and on Sunday they all put on trousers and mortar-boards, and were marched off two and two to church, carrying their shoes in their hands. At the church-door the whole sixty pairs halted to put on their boots, and enter the house of God with dignity. They formed a magnificent choir of bass voices, and rendered the trashy Methodist hymns with a grandeur that would have greatly surprised their composers. During the sermon the sixth form were busy transcribing the homily in shorthand.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

upon this understanding Campbell withdrew his resignation. Goschen can scarcely write his own name, much less add up figures, but he is the king's nephew, and receives £120 a-year as Treasurer, and no money can be paid out of the Treasury except in his presence.

One of the many weak features in the former administration was Mr Baker's fear of dealing with Europeans. He had so wholesome a dread of consular intervention, that in the few cases in which he dared to prosecute a European in the courts the sentence was not carried into effect, and the natives were not slow in attributing this leniency to its true cause. The Constitution that declared all men equal in the eye of the law looked well enough on paper, but in practice they had come to believe that there was one law of Draconian severity for the Tongan, and another of timorous laxity for the white man.

The judicial machinery in Tonga is not less complicated than it is in other little States which are allowed to keep their independence, although within the sphere of British influence. As native magistrates are liable to human error, subjects of the treaty Powers are exempted from their jurisdiction in civil suits and in offences recognised as felonies and misdemeanours by English law. In such cases British subjects are only amenable to the High Commissioner's Court, presided over by the Deputy Commissioner in Tonga: Germans and Americans are theoretically amenable to the Consular Courts of those nations; but as there is no competent authority within the group itself, and their representatives in Samoa cannot find time to visit Tonga, they are virtually exempt from all penal-

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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special voyage to Nukualofa to beg a new chimney from Tukuaho. It was high time to interfere with these boyish escapades, and we therefore temporised, sending a message to the band that they had overstayed their leave, and would be expelled unless they came back. This brought them to their senses, and they sailed in with flags flying, and the big drum beating defiance. They were forthwith assembled, and offered the choice between obedience to orders or expulsion. They were at first inclined to be mutinous, but on the reflection that the instruments were Government property they became more amenable to discipline.

Tonga is not the first State whose public affairs have been deranged by feminine frailty. Was there not a Mark Antony? But Mark Antony did not write shorthand nor keep the minutes of the Council, and it may therefore be doubted whether he was as necessary to the dying Republic as Uiliame Umufuke, *alias* Mataka, was to the kingdom of Tonga. Mataka was invaluable. He knew all the secrets of the Cabinet and Privy Council, yet his mouth was closed; he understood the business of each office better than the head of the Department; he could take down a speech in shorthand faster than the speaker could utter the words; and he was a more useful spy and detective than fat Peter or any of his satellites. A blow was struck at the wellbeing of the State when Mataka got into trouble, for there was but one inexorable law for the rich and the poor, the indispensable and the unnecessary.

Mataka's troubles fell on this wise. Tukuaho had a fair cousin, Lobase, who had espoused Lulu the bandmaster,

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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the existence of a family depended upon its having no disabled members to protect. The lovers' quarrels that result in suicide are quite as trivial as those of civilised communities. On the sudden impulse of some slight misunderstanding the distressed lover resorts to the picturesque but inadequate method of climbing to the top of a cocoa-nut-palm and jumping off, with the usual result of a broken limb, a reconciliation with the beloved object, and permanent lameness. Of late years the cocoa-nut-tree has become less fashionable for men who are in earnest. These generally prefer a precipice, or, if their despair be of the more deliberate kind, poison, which, being a mere infusion of bark or leaves, must be drunk in such large quantity that it more often produces vomiting than death. The ancient mode of execution in Tonga—putting the condemned adrift in leaky canoes—still occasionally survives as a method of suicide. In February a schooner, bound from Niuatobutabu to Nukualofa, picked up a derelict canoe floating unharmed, with her paddles and baler in her, and a crumpled letter which ran as follows:—

162 78982
810 6126 74 m2 127216 m2 892 162 9812 74 m2 m274
b4 810 m2 892 16274 16m807850 892 270
1820 2m454 m8 232.

The schooner's crew connected their discovery with the disappearance of two girls from Niua a few days before; but, not knowing the cipher, they brought the letter to the capital and handed it to Kubu. Tukuaho at once declared it to be written in a cipher known to most of

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

762 212 the younger generation of Tongans, and called the *Kaneli Tofu* cipher. He made a table thus—

K A N E L I T O F U
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0

and the letter then read—

162 78982
Kia Tofoa

810 6126 74 m2 127216 m2 892 162 9812 74 m2 m274
Oku ikai te ma kateki ma ofa kia Foka te ma mate

bi 810 m2 892 16274 16m807850 892 270
ke oku ma ofa kiate kimoutolu ofa atu

1820 2m454 m8 232.
koau amele mo ana.

which being interpreted, ran—

To Tofoa.

We two cannot endure our love for Foka; we would rather die. We send our love to you all. Farewell.

AMELE and ANA.

762 It was a suicide. The poor girls had stolen the canoe, and had paddled themselves out of sight of land, and then, having scribbled their letter to their friend in cipher, they folded it, wrote the address on the back, and jumped overboard. I never heard what part Foka had played in the tragedy.

Persons intending suicide have also learned a lesson from the method of executions in Europe. Strangling with a cord of *ngatu* was common among the Polynesians of the olden time, but they seem never to have thought of hanging, and the idea at once struck them

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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to the seaward of Neiafu up the harbour, and when we reached it a heavy swell was rolling in towards the cliff. I was well prepared for the dive into the mouth by my experiences of the Yasawa-i-lau cave in Fiji, but my followers were obdurate, declaring that no one would attempt the Hunga in a westerly swell unless he was resolved on self-destruction. They cited the case of the captain of a ship of war, who was driven upwards by an incoming wave as he was in mid-passage, and who escaped indeed with life, but with his spine so lacerated by the sharp stalactites that he was permanently crippled. While we were still debating the question a smart sailing-boat bore down on us with a stout figure at the tiller, whom I recognised as Finau. He hailed us to say that he had come to pilot us to the other show-cave of the place, and (parenthetically, of course) to point out the boundaries of some land of which it was proposed illegally to deprive him. The cave just allowed our boats to run in with masts standing. Inside it heightened and broadened to a width of 60 or 70 feet. The limestone walls were disfigured with the names of Europeans and Tongans, and the dates of their offence; for, with the art of writing, has come the Cockney instinct to deface Nature with a record of existences to which she and all her creatures are supremely indifferent.

The stock entertainment of the place was a shaft of rock which, when struck with the handle of an oar, gave out a deep musical note. But Finau had something more serious in view than this puerile amusement. Leaving our boats, we clambered over the rocks through a dark passage and emerged into another cave, in size and shape

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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by Parliament as being in league with the traders, and by the traders as being guilty of the blackest duplicity. The Chamber of Commerce, indeed, with its dying breath demanded from me why the Government, so ignominiously beaten on so vital a point as the import duty on kerosene, had not at once tendered their resignation.

The shipping laws were more intelligible to the House. Many of them, as the owners or masters of small craft, had had a bitter experience of the law regarding coasting licences, and a strong party were in favour of exempting craft owned by Tongans and used only as yachts from the coasting dues paid by steamers and vessels plying for hire. But the majority were against enacting anything that might be cast up against them as one-sided legislation.

Hansard, meanwhile, was growing to unmanageable dimensions. The clerks took down every speech in shorthand, and sat up till daylight night after night transcribing their notes. Not the smallest spoken word passed unrecorded. It was time for a brief holiday, for the sick-list was heavy; and many noblemen who could take the air in native attire could not attend the House until their feet had sufficiently recovered to encounter again the penalties attaching to boots. The Speaker announced a three days' holiday, and added that by special arrangement the Government medical officer would prescribe gratis for all members in need of medical treatment. During the morning a dense crowd of legislators besieged the dispensary. Within was the newly arrived doctor, heated and gesticulating, trying to drive back the mob of senators, who were all striving to describe in

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902
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As soon as the cloth was drawn we got to work. Guards crowded the verandahs; native secretaries sat on the floor drafting amendments, which the king produced from under the table like cards from a conjurer's hat, only to have them gently but firmly put aside. At one in the morning we were agreed on the main points, and the king, who had long been yawning, drove off in his carriage, leaving the negotiation of the minor points to Fatafehi, his father, whom he had appointed his plenipotentiary. This cleared the air, and at half-past two, the oil in the last lamp having given out, the treaty was signed by the light of a guttering candle. Then, and not till then, was it discovered that the privy seal had been left at the palace, and we had to wait until a messenger had galloped for it on horseback. Then Fatafehi and I exchanged presents, and we were free to go to bed. The thing that had astonished the king most was Webber's extraordinary power of writing correctly from dictation Tongan, of which he did not understand a word, the secret being that Tongan is written phonetically with the Italian vowels, and that, so long as the speaker indicates the divisions between the words, the task is not so difficult as it sounds.

20: Gifford E-5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

American town. The police, perhaps, have a busier time restraining playful young Tonga in the front rows.

Typewriters are coming into use. The writer encountered one enterprising Tongan who took dictation in Tongan direct on his typewriter. The same man was a good photographer.

Writing, introduced by the missionaries, has done much to preserve Tongan mythology and genealogy. As early as 1844 the Tamaha, the highest and most sacred Tongan dignitary, the sororal niece of the Tui Tonga, set down in writing some of the ancient lore. Many others have followed her example. If writing and reading have been the means of preserving much old Tongan material, so too, have they been the introducers of many foreign ideas. To-day one can collect Tongan versions of Cinderella and Dick Whittington's cat. Moreover, many a Tongan's clear conception of the affairs of his nation in the first decade and a half of the 19th century is due to his reading Mariner's "Tongan Islands" translated into Tongan.

Although no accurate data are at hand, it is nevertheless the writer's impression that the great majority of Tongans are literate. Tongan orthography has offered a peg upon which to hang a controversy with a religious back ground. The Catholics use the symbol "p" to represent the sound in Tongan which is really intermediate between "b" and "p." It is a sound quite similar to French "p." Inasmuch as the early Catholic missionaries were French, they naturally represented the intermediate Tongan sound with "p." The Protestants, however, used both "b" and "p." or again "b" alone. The latter course is preferable, because after all but a single sound is being dealt with. Being intermediate this sound sometimes strikes an English ear as "b," sometimes as "p." As a result of this rivalry of "b" and "p," an actual phonetic difference has arisen through the teaching of the mission schools. A single sound has now evolved into two sounds. Which is used depends upon the church affiliations of the speaker. A somewhat similar case is to be found in "s" and "j," the former now having almost completely replaced the latter in everyday conversation. Although "s" is sponsored by the Catholics it has come into general use and the "j" of the Protestants is fast sinking into oblivion.

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

and not as the laws of the Missionaries. This was accordingly done; and, when the code was finally completed, and made law, by public and regal authority, the Missionaries found in it much that was contrary to their own views. It was, however, a great advance upon the brief and imperfect code already in operation, and would, no doubt, prepare the way for something better still.*

Schools, and the press, were doing a great and lasting work, in conjunction with the regular and direct ministrations of the Missionaries. The press, especially, had already conferred incalculable blessings upon the population of the whole islands. It had poured out innumerable elementary pages, in which the once unwritten language of the people was embodied in such characters, as even the aged, and most ignorant, might soon master and remember. Various portions of the Holy Scriptures, in the native tongue, had, from time to time, been issued, and were eagerly caught up by all classes. Elementary works in general and religious knowledge, had been supplied to all the schools; while, for the purposes of Divine worship, the people were supplied with native hymn books, and Wesley's abridgment of the services of the Church of England. An excellent "Tonga and English Vocabulary," compiled by the Rev. Stephen Rabone; a small quarterly periodical entitled the "Friendly Visitor," (*Aahi Fakakaiga,*) and an Almanac, completed the limited list of books and pages issued from the printing department of the Mission. These were, however, powerful agents in advancing the civilization of the people. Heathen

* For a copy of these laws, see Young's "Southern World," p. 235. London: Mason. 1858.

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

797 inhabitants of this island were made acquainted with the new religion which many had espoused in the island of Tongatabu. They obtained this information, either when on their accustomed tributary visits to the supreme government of Tonga, or through the tidings brought to their own island by Tonguese voyagers proceeding to Samoa. To them God was still the "Unknown God," as truly as He was to the Athenians, in the days of St. Paul. They knew not how to pray, nor for what, and they were still without any instructor; but they resolved even then to build a place of worship to the God of the foreigners. The native mind was evidently wearied with the silly traditions and oppressive impositions of heathenism; and the people were prepared by an unseen but Divine influence, to welcome a deliverance into light and life.

Nothing of much moment followed these incipient movements toward Christianity, until after Vavau had yielded obedience to its Heavenly Lord. No sooner was this brought about, than the people of Niua Tobutabu eagerly sought for and welcomed the presence of converted men and women from thence, who became their instructors. Considering the still infantile character of the cause in Haafuluhao itself, these teachers and their wives could not be thoroughly equipped in all respects for their office and work. They could, however, [212] read and write; and, above all, they were simple-hearted, believing, praying, zealous persons. Their labours were therefore greatly owned and blessed by the Most High, in thoroughly preparing the way for the prolonged visit of Mr. Turner in 1835, who was then the means of placing the organization and work of this little church on a correct and firm basis.

ALTERNATIVE MEANINGS FOR TONGAN PLACE NAMES

There is little doubt that Mr Gifford's Tongan "scholars" did their best, but the two Tongan men he relied on were chiefs, and chiefs were seldom trusted with chronicles which were often associated with place names. This knowledge was trusted to spokesmen, and theirs was the task of knowing place names which perserved for posterity the unwritten historical events that had transpired at those places. The European Tongan scholars, too, could not have been sufficiently versed in Tongan oral traditions and histories to be able to go beyond a mere literal translation of the meanings of many place names.

The stories given later on in this paper will help to illustrate how important it is to know oral traditions if one is to give correct meanings to place names. These stories were well known to the old people of Ha'apai islands but now are known to only a few. I learned of these stories at the many informal gatherings at my father's house where I was frequently called to serve kava. I treasured this delightful task as I could sit inconspicuously behind the kava mixer and listen to the older people tell tales of former days. And so later, when I saw Gifford's book and the erroneous meanings he had given to these places, I was shocked and grieved, for the present trend in Tonga is to accept anything in black and white as the absolute truth. Gifford's written words will be the accepted authority in the meanings of Tongan place names, and the true non-recorded meanings of some of these place names will pass on to forgotten history with the death of their tellers.

Going hand in hand with Gifford's lack of knowledge of historical events and the deficiencies of the orthography[2] that he used, are the complicating factors of the dynamics of language change at work. This gives some names a different pronunciation from the original, and thus makes a difference in their meaning unless one knows what they originally referred to.

Let us look at how this factor of language change has modified the following two words: /'auhangamea/ and /te'ekiu/ which Gifford listed as:

1. "Auhangamea. Panting to destroy things (auha, destroyed; nga, to pant; mea, things; perhaps referring to the heaving of the billows from the open ocean.) Strait between Tatafu and Uoleva island (H)."[3]
2. "Teekiu. Plover excrement (tee, excrement; kiu, plover Haradrius fulvus). Village on Tongatapu island (T). Also a track on Nomuka island (H). Also a tract near Hihifo, village on Foa island (H)."[4]

A correction to Gifford's spelling of Auhangamea to get its present pronunciation must be made with the addition of the glottal stop before the initial vowel. Gifford listed this word as having three morphemes: (auha + nga + mea) with their respective meanings as listed above. The original pronunciation of this word was /'auha + 'anga + me'a/ containing the morphemes /'auha/ "to suffer destruction" /'anga/ nominalising suffix, and /me'a/ "thing;" this was reduced to /'auhangamea/ by deletion of /'a/ from /'anga/ to form /nga/, and the elimination of /'/ from /me'a/ to form /mea/. The meaning thus formed from this compound word is "the place where things are destroyed, or lost."

This name was not given to the strait because of "the heaving of the billows" as suggested by Gifford, nor was it given to commemorate a "trivial event," but to record orally an important event long forgotten by most except the few story tellers who still remember the legend of Sisimata'ila'aa whose carelessness caused the bag of curses to be opened while the boat of the Tu'i Tonga was crossing it.

2. In the orthography used by Gifford, there is representation of neither the glottal stop nor the vowel length, both of which are phonemes of high frequency.
3. Gifford 1923:42.
4. Ibid.:218.

538 Each pair of two columns moved toward each other to become a single
535 group of four columns, six men deep. Thus:
533

Stanzas EF - Third change in formation

X X X X
X X X X
X X X X
X X X X
X X X X
X X X X

Finally they returned to their original starting position of a single group of eight columns, three men deep. Thus:

Stanzas EF - Final change in formation

X X X X X X X X
X X X X X X X X
X X X X X X X X

There was no interval between stanzas E and F.

The stanzas used and the number of their repetitions is at the descretion of the choreographer. He arranges the performance according
535 to the desired duration and how many men will participate. Teachers
644 of the me'etu'upaki are members of the falefā matāpule, the ceremonial attendants of the Tu'i Tonga. One of these attendants, Kavapele, usually teaches the dance today as, in his forties, he is still of dancing age. Another of the falefā matāpule, Mailau, is well known
535 for his knowledge of me'etu'upaki. Mailau is now 74 years old and
644 leaves the dance teaching to the younger men, but he still helps with
538 remembering the poetry. The poetry is not written down, but recon-
[212] structed from memory each time it is to be performed. Mailau remembered six sections of me'etu'upaki. Kavapele, who taught the me'etu'upaki I saw and also taught me to perform the dance, remembered
535 six stanzas, four of which were the same as Mailau's. Vaisima, though
538

127 translations of the manuscript? The spelling and handwriting of the author of the document must also be considered, since misinterpretations of words due to spelling or handwriting can lead to an erroneous state-
127 ment of ethnohistorical fact. As the missionaries increased the length of their stay in Tonga they gradually systematized their orthography, but orthographic or spelling variations encountered in the manuscript were numerous, both in English words and the missionaries' transcription of Tongan words.

[212] One cannot criticize the 19th Century Wesleyans for the orthographic variations since it was not until 1943 that the Tongan Government
127 finally standardized the Tongan alphabet (Churchward 1953: viii). The
104 sound once transcribed with the letter "b" is now written with the letter "p" and the name "Tubou" as recorded by some European observers and some Tongans, is now written as "Tupou." Similarly, the sound once written as "g" is now written with "ng" and pronounced accordingly, as it always had been pronounced. "Tonga" was once transcribed as "Toga."

127 The various primary documentary sources (both published and manuscript) of the 19th Century had numerous spelling variations. The individual "Taufa" of the area known as "Pea" is recorded as "Taoofa" of the "Bea" (Lawry, Diary, January 23, 1823), or "Tahoofa" (Thomas, Journal, May 15, 1827). The individual "Fakafanua" of the area known as "Ha'ufanga" is "Fucanooa" of "Hafanga" in Lawry's account (Diary, August 22, 1822). The individual known as the Tu'i Ha'atelho is re-
[104] corded as "Tulateho" (Webb, Letter, January 2, 1844). In addition to spelling variations, the letter which appears in the manuscript sources

76: Yuncker N-4,5 (1953) 1959 OU9 Tonga OU9

somewhat smaller, three- to five-nerved from base, midrib branched upward, somewhat leathery. Flowers white, about 1 cm. long, very fragrant, in branching, many-flowered, axillary or terminal cymose clusters; fruit subglobose, about 1 cm. in diameter, becoming black. 137

Tongatapu: *Graeffe;* climbing to top of tall forest tree, below village of Lavengatonga, Mar. 6, 1953, *Yuncker 15194.*

'Eua: *Lister.*

Vava'u: *Crosby.*

Niuafo'ou: in thicket in "island" in old lava flow, along way to upper rim of main crater, May 16, 1953. *Yuncker 16004.*

Niuatoputapu: forest, top of ridge east of Vaipoa, alt. 150 m., Dec. 5, 1951. *Hürlimann 365.*

Occasional throughout Tonga. From Java to Philippines, New Caledonia, and Polynesia.

Tongan name: *tutu'uli.*

The juice of the fruit may be used as an ink substitute.[1] [824] [212]

Jasminum simplicifolium Forster f., Fl. Ins. Australia, Prodr., 3, 1786.

Woody, trailing or climbing vine, with many, slender, glabrous branches. Leaves simple, opposite, ovate, acute, base obtuse, entire, up to about 10 cm. long and 4.5 cm. wide, petioles up to about 1.5 cm. long. Flowers white, fragrant, about 2 cm. wide, in axillary, branching, cymose clusters; fruit black.

Tongatapu: *Forster; Moseley;* in thicket along coast, near Fu'amotu village, Mar. 4, 1953, *Yuncker 15148.*

'Eua: *Lister.*

Nomuka: climbing in tree in thicket between inland lake and sea, Apr. 30, 1953, *Yuncker 15840.*

Vava'u: *Crosby.*

Occasional throughout the group. From the Solomon Islands, Australia, and the New Hebrides to Fiji and Polynesia.

Tongan name: *tutu'uli.*

The juice of the fruit may be used as an ink substitute. [824] [212]

Family Loganiaceae

Genus Geniostoma Forster

Geniostoma calcicola A. C. Smith, Sargentia 1: 99, 1942.

Small tree, up to 4 or 5 m. tall, with four-angled twigs; twigs, petioles, and nerves on lower leaf surface brown-hairy. Leaves opposite, elliptic-oblong or ovate, subacute, base rounded and obtuse or acutish, entire, up to 8 cm. long and 4 cm. wide, pinnately nerved, petiole about 5 mm. long. Flowers very small, greenish white, on slender pedicels, in few-flowered, axillary, cymose clusters; fruit ovoid, 5-8 mm. long.

1 /Jasminum didymum -- Analyst/

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
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there by the Tahitian teachers and about 300 people from the area met regularly for worship. When Nathanial Turner, Cross and Weiss decided to establish themselves at Nuku'alofa, they took over the little congregation, and it was here at Nuku'alofa that the Wesleyan mission began to flourish. Despite Ata's resistance at Hihifo certain chiefs of high rank from this area, such as Ulakai, son of Tuku'aho, joined the mission at Nuku'alofa.

Another important factor was the growing experience of the missionaries in dealing with the Tongans. This and the more tactful approach of some of the later missionaries contributed significantly to the breakthrough in the work of the mission. One of the outstanding personalities was the Reverend Nathaniel Turner. Unlike Lawry, Thomas and Hutchinson, Turner was a mature, well educated man with a progressive outlook. His experience with the Maoris of New Zealand, among whom he had worked for several years before he came to Tonga, seems to have given him many advantages. The experience helped him to develop a sympathetic understanding of the customs and traditions of the people, and gave him a crude familiarity with the fundamentals of the language, which enabled him to learn Tongan quickly and thoroughly. It was he who developed the Tongan alphabet which, with some modification by the present King of Tonga in the 1940s, is still being used in Tonga today.

Unlike Thomas, who did not hesitate to dictate to the Tongans, Nathaniel Turner was very cautious. When he was asked questions relative to politics, shortly after arrival, he answered that because he was a stranger to their country, and consequently to their ways, he would rather say nothing (N. Turner, Journal, 29 Nov. 1827, WMMS 1818-36, item A2833). Where there were disputes among the chiefs in connection with the affairs of the mission, Turner would sit down and discuss the questions at issue with them in a manner the chiefs could understand. Williams and Barff (1830:64), the two L.M.S. missionaries who visited Tonga in 1830, spoke very highly of the love and respect which the Tongans—both Christians and heathens—showed to Turner. He was reluctantly forced to leave Tonga in 1831, for a healthier climate. However, before his departure he had the satisfaction of seeing the new arrivals, Peter Turner (no relation), James

79: Lātūkefu H,I,M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
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> of others or from your own experience, reading and reflection to do everything today better than you did it yesterday . . . Make the best of all that is in your hands. (Wesley, *Sermons*, I:709)

With the help of Wesley's own works and directions to his 'helpers', many of the missionaries, like their colleagues at home, did their best to remedy the deficiencies of their education, and a number succeeded well. 'I and my colleagues', wrote one of the early pioneeer missionaries in Tonga, 'have undertaken to do something in Latin-Greek-and Hebrew, Logic and Divinity every week' (P. Turner, Journal, 30 Nov. 1841). In addition to religious magazines and papers, some included on their reading lists works on politics, history (English, Greek, Roman), Pacific research, physics, astronomy, medicine and also biographical works (P. Turner, Books read: 12). Those who did not appear to make efforts at self-improvement were sharply rebuked.

The missionaries regarded the establishment of schools as a must, not only in order to enable their converts to read the Bible and to communicate with each other in writing, but also to help combat some of the superstitious beliefs of the people and facilitate the understanding of the new concepts they had to introduce. The first school to be established in Tonga was at Hihifo. It was opened by John Thomas and his wife, but it did not last long because of Ata's opposition. Before the mission at Hihifo was abandoned in 1829, several of the young men from there moved to Nuku'alofa in order to attend the school there.

It was at Nuku'alofa that schools really flourished under the leadership of Nathaniel Turner and William Cross. Their first school was opened on 17 March 1828 (Cross to Committee, 8 Sept. 1828, WMMS 1818-36, item A2834). In September of the same year attendance had risen to 150, Turner instructing the males and Cross the females. The main purpose of the schools was to teach both children and adults to read and write in the Tongan language. To begin with, the missionaries had to reduce the language into writing and then to write out everything they taught. Apparently some read as fast as the missionaries could produce these lessons for them. This was not surprising since many Tongans were eager to learn to read and write even before the arrival of the missionaries.

79: Lātūkefu H,I,M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
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Commander J. M. Laws, of His Majesty's Sloop *Satellite*, described the situation as he saw it in 1829:

> At Tongataboo I found the natives most amicably disposed and their intellectual superiority over those of the Society Islands is very remarkable, though they are seldom visited by Europeans . . . Most of the chiefs are young men who could make themselves understood in English, and when we asked them the names of the different islands, many of them would take a slate and write them down, some agreeing to a letter with Captain Cook's account, this they have learnt from the English missionaries, three of whom are settled here, and who to my astonishment, informed me they had begun to teach the natives writing only five months ago, and in that time they had completely exhausted their stock of Tonga literature, and were now learning English of their own. (Laws 1829)

Owing to the increased pressure on the missionaries' time and energy there was a real need for further teaching aids. Turner reported on 27 June 1829 that they were forwarding a work to the colony to be printed.[1] Meanwhile Cross prepared little books in the form of tracts. Children read them to their parents at home, and when some of the already literate people went to distant parts of the islands to visit their friends, they took great pleasure in taking their books to read to them, and some started to read and even write before they attended school. Thus the popularity of school work and the novelty of literacy spread.

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The glamour of being able to read and write drew so many people to the schools—young and old alike—that the missionaries could not keep up with the demand. Turner wrote:

> Never did I see and feel the importance of time so much as I do now, the wants of the people are great, and they are continually pressing upon us to furnish them with something to read. The ears of hundreds are opened to listen to the 'Word of the Book' but alas they have no book today—Oh! that we had but a press and some one that could manage it, then would these hungry souls soon feed as in green pasture. (N. Turner to Committee, 27 June 1829, WMMS 1818-36, item A2835)

[1] The work covered the alphabet and spelling lessons; first reading lessons; the history of Creation and the Fall and other Biblical topics; a catechism, Ten Commandments and twelve hymns (N. Turner to Committee, 27 June 1829, WMMS 1818-36, item A2835).

79: Lātūkefu H,I,M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
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the grounds of personal conviction but for reasons of loyalty to, or fear of, powerful King George and his Christian followers. They met in classes and performed religious obligations largely because the King wanted them to do as he and his supporters did. For a time, the emotional fervour of the religious revivals, which spread with such intensity in the second half of the 1830s and also in the 1840s, affected even these nominal Christians, so that scarcely anyone remained untouched by revivalism in one way or another. But the effects were not lasting, and gradually the excitement and enthusiasm wore off, particularly amongst the chiefs. Some began to realise that they had a heavy price to pay for their conversion, for they were required to surrender many of the privileges which for centuries had been regarded as the exclusive birthright of their socio-political class. They began to wonder if they had made a sound choice, and some began to react against the missionaries.

Some of the novelty attached to the work of the missionaries had worn off. Literacy, early the prerogative of the missionaries, had become common to most Tongans by the latter half of the 1850s, when many could read and write and teach others to do the same. Nor were the operations of the printing press any longer regarded with awe and wonder, and its exciting effect upon the minds of the people was fast disappearing.

The monopoly of the Wesleyan missionaries in the use of medicine, which for two decades had won them admiration, affection and respect, was now seriously challenged by the Roman Catholic mission. Owing to the great demand for medicine and its short supply, since the Committee provided an insufficient amount, the Wesleyan missionaries were forced to buy extra supplies of medicine and also to charge a small fee for its distribution. The Roman Catholic priests had meanwhile decided to distribute their medicine free among their members.

John Thomas (Journal, 6 May 1856) wrote:

> The priests, it seems spare no pains in order to make converts, or rather to prevent the people from the right way of the Lord. In case of anyone taking medicine from them that is understood to be a sign of their turning—and some one is sent at once to perform worship in the house, and thus introduce popery into that family. And then,

81: Bott E,P-4,5 (no date) 19 2 0U9 Tonga 0U9

treat kava as if it were strong stuff. And so it is, but the strength comes from society, not from the vegetable kingdom.[3]

Before I describe the ceremony, here are a few background facts about the Kingdom. Tonga is a Polynesian society consisting of about 150 small islands with a population of about 70,000 people. It has a Treaty of Friendship with Great Britain, but has always been independent, never a colony, a fact of which Tongans are very proud. The people have been Christian for 130 years and virtually everyone can read and write. Tongans practise subsistence farming on small holdings, with coconuts and bananas as the main cash crops. There are no extremes of wealth or poverty. For the past 100 years government has assumed the form of a constitutional monarchy. Anyone who saw Queen Sālote of Tonga at the coronation of Queen Elizabeth in 1953 will not be likely to forget her. She is as memorable in Tonga as she is in Britain. She died in December 1965 and was succeeded by her eldest son, the present King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV.

DESCRIPTION OF THE CEREMONY

The basic form of the kava ceremony is always the same, though it may vary from a small informal gathering of four or five people to a huge assemblage of several hundred people. It can be dressed up or down as the occasion requires. It takes place on many different sorts of occasion: when men visit each other just to talk; when welcoming home relatives who have been away; in courtship; at weddings; at certain points in a funeral; at the appointment of a king and later on at his coronation; and similarly at the appointment of a chief and on the occasion when he first presents himself and his villagers to his King.

Figures 1 and *2* show the seating at an informal and at a formal ceremony. The participants sit cross-legged, with the chief whose title is genealogically the most senior at the head of the circle. He has an official called a matāpule on either side of

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 210]

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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and he "succumbed to the corrupting influence of power". The L.M.S. historian, Norman Goodall, added — 797

> "He provides a pathological exception — with, perhaps, a warning — to the general run of missionaries".(5)

The early Wesleyan missionaries did not regard piety and learning as opposed to each other. Their diaries, regularly kept according to instructions from headquarters, reveal more than their self-examination and spiritual trials. They give evidence of the missionaries' self-discipline and the extent of their reading and continued studies, some in Latin, Greek and Hebrew. They maintained these studies in an enervating climate and under conditions which often were most depressing.

The civilizing benefits of Christianity and the introduction of useful occupations to their converts were stressed to a greater extent by the L.M.S. missionaries than the Wesleyans. Nevertheless, the "work-ethic" was always upheld. The indolent habits of the people were condemned, excessively, we may say today.

Education was not regarded primarily as part of the civilizing process but as an agent in evangelism. It was necessary for converts to be able to read the Bible. Only much later did any doubts arise about whether the Missions should devote so much of their energies to academic education. The early missionaries believed that education developed powers of moral discrimination; they said they were training a people in whom conscience seemed lacking. Even in the 20th Century the Missions have generally advocated keeping education in their hands as a weapon for combating secularism and a means of developing the type of character expected of practising Christians.

Through mission education, Tongans, Fijians and Samoans became literate when there was still much illiteracy in Victorian England; secondary education, even to a very limited extent, was being given when comparatively few adolescents in England were receiving it; and girls were gaining a good education under mission auspices when there were not many girls' schools in England.(9) Furthermore, vocational and agricultural training was gradually introduced to enable the islanders to build and preserve their society under new conditions of contact with the outside world. [212] [873] [171] [874]

Education tended to become competitive, especially with the coming of new missionary societies which set up their own schools. The cost of maintaining a complete educational system for a whole community became too burdensome for any mission; and, therefore, governments assumed more responsibility for education. Government grants-in-aid or subsidies helped to make mission schools viable but, in the more sophisticated countries, these subsidies were reduced. Where there was a large non-Christian element, notably in Fiji with its Indian community, the government share in education was correspondingly increased. On the other hand, the policy of the Wesleyan Church in Tonga was exceptional: that Church maintained a complete educational system, and (to the present time) has done this without any government subsidy whatever. [871] [658]

Medical work was only a minor part of the early Pacific Islands missionaries' ministrations, but it was an expression of Chrisitan compassion. "The Christian ethic of healing" stood out in contrast to many callous practices in a non-Christian society. It is true that recovery from sickness after the missionaries' prayers and

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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[1827-1827]

The Sydney Gazette, 8 October 1827, reported that the ship *Industry* had left that day for Tonga. It took Turner and Cross with their wives and Turner's three children, Weiss (who had come on the return voyage of the *Governor Darling* from Tonga) and his wife and three children; two servants and three Maoris completed the party. The ship also took back the goods which Thomas and Hutchinson had sent away on the *Governor Darling*.

The new missionaries arrived at Hihifo on 2 November 1827. The determination of Turner and Cross to rescue the Mission from failure had an immediate effect. Thomas was indeed amazed at the resolute spirit of the newcomers who had

> "a settled determination to prosecute the Mission in some other part of the group should it be found absolutely necessary to abandon the present station" (i.e., Hihifo). (17)

The opportunity was found at once at Nuku'alofa where Turner worshipped with the Tahitian teachers on 4 November, the first Sunday after his arrival. Turner and Cross decided to make Nuku'alofa their base of operations and here they built on the foundations faithfully laid by the Tahitians who willingly co-operated with them. The Tahitians told the newcomers that they would have been glad to go to Fiji which they had expected to be their field.

Turner and Cross lost no time in beginning to learn the language in which Thomas and Hutchinson had made no headway. Turner had read Mariner's book and begun learning the vocabulary on the voyage from Sydney. The speedy success of Cross was still more commendable because Turner was already proficient in the Maori language and Cross had only just arrived from England.

On 2 December 1827 a simple hymn of two verses, written by Turner, was sung at a service; it was the first time a Christian hymn had been sung in the Tongan language.(16) On 24 January 1828 Turner was able to take part of a service in Tongan, to the astonishment of his hearers. It was Turner who was responsible for the orthography and spelling which the first District Meeting approved, on 27-28 January 1828.

The missionaries also immediately began a school, following the work of the Tahitians. Turner employed the teaching methods he had found successful in New Zealand, and his school grew to 500 in six months. One of his Maori helpers proved a useful assistant teacher. Turner taught the males, and Cross the female pupils.

In the first District Meeting, on 27-28 January 1828, Turner, as Chairman, was under the painful necessity of inquiring into the official charge, of wrongfully deserting the mission, against Thomas and Hutchinson. The little meeting "forbore to pass any censure against them" and merely made a report to the Committee. Thomas felt deeply the charge against him, a novice in an unfriendly situation and with an unco-operative colleague. After transacting formal business and disposing of the charge, Turner recorded, "We discussed the doctrines of Methodism, especially the grand doctrine of sanctification". So the little company of pioneer missionaries showed loyalty to their denomination's usages and ideals, in this new mission field.(18)

Turner, naturally, was very disappointed when, soon after his arrival and the auspicious beginning, Aleamotu'a felt forced to abandon attendance at worship. This embargo was placed on him as a condition of his being elected Tu'i Kanokupolu. On 7 December 1827 Turner witnessed the ceremony under

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The missionaries regarded these seven men as "the first fruits of the Gospel" in Tonga.[25] A short catechism had been compiled a few weeks before this event, and the catechumens repeated the answers before the congregation at their baptism. On 29 March 1829 Aleamotu'a's wife, Moala, was baptized and named Mary. Four other women were baptized with her. 797 795

When children of parents already baptized were brought, Turner set apart those below eight years and treated those above eight as adults who entered a class for instruction. It was Turner's practice to baptize candidates by sprinkling as they knelt around the communion table. He gave them biblical names as well as agreeing to their retaining their Tongan names. Incidentally, John Williams, while commenting very favourably on Turner's work during his visit to Nuku'alofa in 1830, criticized the giving of biblical names. However, it became standard practice in the Tongan Wesleyan Church. It was also the custom for baptized persons to sit under and around the pulpit, apart from the rest of the congregation.

Eleven more were baptized on 9 April 1829 when the congregation numbered nearly 500, Turner reported. By April 1829 Turner had completed the first Scripture lessons, catechism, and some hymns, and had sent these to Sydney to be printed. He had also translated the marriage service from the Prayer Book, and on 3 May the first Christian wedding service was held. On 24 May there was the first Christian burial, for an old convert named Job, so named because of his patience in prolonged illness. On Whitsunday, 7 June 1829, the first Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in which Tongans participated was observed. There were twenty-six Tongan communicants. [794] 797 [585] [764] [788]

The District Meeting, on 23 June 1829, reported 31 full members, with 90 on trial. It asked the Committee for two additional missionaries, one with medical knowledge, the other with printing experience; and a printing press was requested.[26] [794]

By 25 June, William Cross had produced summaries of Old Testament and New Testament narratives, and had translated the Acts of the Apostles to chapter eleven — a remarkable feat in about eighteen months. Cross and Turner reported to the Committee that there were 495 in the schools and that [871] [212]

> "many of the people can read with fluency and write in such a way as would astonish you."

They added two significant comments:

> "The great and good work which the Lord is doing among us here is almost incredible to ourselves who are eye and ear witnesses to the facts. . . . And we enjoy perfect harmony among ourselves."

The "Lovefeast" was a treasured Wesleyan ordinance in which worshippers gave testimonies, and the first of these was held on 11 October 1829. About forty, including Aleamotu'a and his consort, spoke on this occasion.

At the District Meeting on 31 December 1829, it was decided that a man and woman living together should be married before they were baptized, and that candidates for baptism should meet "in class" for at least three months and, after baptism, spend three months "on trial" before full membership. The wise direction of the Chairman could be seen in these rules. It was also reported that there were 72 full members, with 23 others baptized but not yet full members, 123 others on trial, and that there were 478 scholars in four schools, at Nuku'alofa, Hofoa, Havelu, and Fanga.[27] [794] [795] [871]

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Alcamotu'a was baptized on 10 January 1830 in the presence of a congregation of 600. He took the name of Josiah, and the missionaries generally referred to him afterwards as Josiah Tupou or King Josiah. He had supported, first the Tahitian teachers and then the Wesleyan missionaries, wavering only temporarily and under strong pressure. His three sons and two daughters were baptized at the same service. On the afternoon of that day, Turner wrote,

> "A man who had been a magician or a kind of god and of so high a rank that the king used to pray to him was baptized; so in the same day we have baptized both the king and his god." (28)

After Alcamotu'a was baptized he was married to his chosen wife, Mary, who had become a class-leader and had taken charge of the Sunday School in Nuku'alofa.(29)

Nuku'alofa, with its daily teaching and well-attended regular worship, had become an orderly Christian community. Every Sunday was filled with services and teaching: 5 a.m., prayer meeting; 8 a.m., children's catechizing; 9 a.m., worship; 3 p.m., worship; evening, English service (for mission families and any visiting sailors). During the week the missionaries supervised the day schools, conducted classes for catechumens and others for full members, and held a mid-week service (Wednesday) and prayer-meeting (Friday). They were also occupied with translation work, dispensing medicine, making pastoral visits to the sick and to outlying villages. On 31 March 1830 Cross sent to the Committee in London specimens of the handwriting and composition of Mary, wife of Alcamotu'a. and others. These may be the first sentences in Tongan still in existence; they are preserved in the Mitchell Library, Sydney.(30)

The change in the people's attitude was receiving favourable comments from visiting sea-captains. Captain Hardy, *Snapper*, who used to avoid Tongan anchorages because of the people's reputation for deceit, robbery and violence, reported on the difference when he came on 22 September 1828. Commodore Lawes, H.M.S. *Satellite*, in May 1829, expressed astonishment at the progress the people at Nuku'alofa had made in reading after only a short time. The wrecked whaler, *L'Aigle*, received unexpected hospitality from Alcamotu'a and his people in March 1830. On the other hand, the sailors of some ships cursed the missionaries because they had forbidden women at Nuku'alofa to go on board the visiting vessels.

The chapel built for the Tahitian teachers in 1826 had proved far too small. On 5 May 1830 Turner reported the beginning of the construction of a new chapel "on the hill where the old fortress stood in Mariner's time", the hill to become famous in Tongan Church history as Zion. On 3 September it was opened, with about 1,000 attempting to crowd into the building and nearly as many others outside. Turner described the efforts of some to appear in European clothing, the women with "gowns and bonnets. The bonnets were entirely of their own manufacture, under the direction of Mary, the excellent wife of Tupou". Though Turner wrote this with some satisfaction, he added that the appearance of many could only "excite a smile". Another quaint reference was to Thomas Wright, Lawry's old servant who had returned with John Thomas, and who now conducted the singing in Zion "although he does not understand music"! (31)

Nuku'alofa had formerly been a fortress. Its new importance arose not only because of its convenience as a port but as the centre of the new religion in Tongatapu. It is also noteworthy that Turner and Cross had commenced preaching

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[1831]

in villages in the central district, in places that had hitherto been hostile to Christianity. 797

Reinforcements for the Mission came on 10 March 1831. The new missionaries were Peter Turner, James Watkin, and William Woon. Peter Turner (who was not related to Nathaniel) was born in Manchester in 1802. Enthusiastic and evangelistic, he became a very popular preacher; his four years in Samoa (1835-9) made him a legend among the Wesleyans of that group. James Watkin also was born in Manchester, in 1805. He proved an able administrator in his six years' service (1831-7) and afterwards in New Zealand and Australia. A son of James Watkin, Jabez Bunting Watkin, was a missionary in Tonga for nearly 60 years (1866-1925), the last forty years as President of the Free Church which separated from the Wesleyans. William Woon was a Cornishman, born in 1803; he had been trained as a printer and he brought with him a printing press, a valuable acquisition for the Mission and a source of wonder to the people in Nuku'alofa. Woon was a competent but slow printer and a poor preacher (so Thomas noted before Woon left the Mission on 5 January 1834).[32]

On 14 April 1831, just before Nathaniel Turner left, he had the satisfaction of seeing the first books printed in Tonga, a book of 60 hymns and a four-page school-book (3000 copies). A second school-book was ready also for printing. A copy of the first hymn-book is in the National Library, Canberra, probably the only copy still in existence. Its sixty hymns are elementary efforts but it is remarkable that so many had been written and printed in less than four years after Turner and Cross came. (A copy of the 1835 school-book, eight pages, also is in the National Library, Canberra.) After Woon left the printing press was removed to Vava'u. 213

Continuous ill-health forced Nathaniel Turner to leave Tonga in April 1831. The transformation in little more than three years had been amazing indeed. Instead of failure and the projected abandonment of the Mission by John Thomas and Hutchinson in 1827, the work was now firmly established. When Nathaniel Turner left, the Mission reported 505 full members, 528 on trial (a total increase of 598 for the year); in Tongatapu there were 14 schools, 35 teachers, 953 scholars; in Ha'apai already 8 schools, 77 teachers, 1037 scholars; and 10,000 small books had been printed in Tongan and were in use in the schools. If Turner had been able to continue in Tonga, still greater success would have followed under his wise direction, and probably the grave mistakes of later years would have been avoided. General sorrow was shown by chiefs and people in Nuku'alofa on the missionary's departure. Before he left he urged the Committee to send missionaries not only to Vava'u and the Niuas but also two to Fiji.[33] In 1853 Turner had the gratification of visiting Tonga when he accompanied the deputation from the British Conference, Robert Young; and he then saw the fruit of the work that he had been compelled to leave in 1831. 797 794 871 213 212

John Thomas, who had been stationed in Ha'apai since January 1830, succeeded Turner as Chairman of the Friendly Islands District, occupying that position until he went on furlough to England in 1850.

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Chapter VII.

TAUFA'AHAU AND THE CONVERSION OF HA'APAI AND VAVA'U (1829-34)

In his own territory of Ha'apai, and afterwards when Vava'u came under his control, Taufa'ahau vigorously promoted the new religion. In both groups Christianity was accepted, nominally, by the entire population in the space of a few years. This was almost entirely due to Taufa'ahau. He himself was under no doubt about the desirability of adopting Christianity. He had visited Nuku'alofa when the Tahitians began in 1826 and had discussed the matter with Aleamotu'a at that time. He came into contact with the Wesleyan missionaries soon afterwards. Early in 1828 he asked Nathaniel Turner for a missionary for Ha'apai. Though unsuccessful in this endeavour he went back, determined to oppose heathen practices and to adopt Christian customs, beginning with Sabbath observance. He constrained an English sailor living in Ha'apai to become his guide. This man traced the letters of the alphabet in the sand as the first step in teaching, and he also offered prayers in a house which Taufa'ahau set apart for this purpose — surely a strange duty for this castaway sailor.

Before long Taufa'ahau was the champion of Christianity in all places under his influence. His endorsement, with the authority he wielded, would have made it difficult for objectors to withstand him. The degree to which the people of Ha'apai were obliged to accept Christianity is open to question. There was, as a matter of fact, very little opposition in either Ha'apai or Vava'u to Taufa'ahau's efforts. The old religion had not been so firmly held that people would hold out against the leadership of a chief with the dominating personality of Taufa'ahau.

It was a different matter in Tongatapu where there was a spirit of rebellion against Taufa'ahau even after he became Tu'i Kanokupolu in 1845. Chiefs and people in Tongatapu who did not support Taufa'ahau on other grounds were not likely to heed his promotion of Christianity.

The missionaries were delighted to have such a champion. In Tonga, as elsewhere in the Pacific, the conversion of chiefs was held to be of the highest importance because a movement of their people towards Christianity could be expected to follow. The early missionaries could hardly foresee the dangers inherent in a "chiefly church". Not only would the motives of chiefs and people, in some cases, be suspect and their acceptance of Christianity superficial. There was the problem of a chief exercising too much authority in the affairs of the Church. The missionaries also might be inclined to acquiesce too readily in the chief's wishes to the detriment of their spiritual work. There was a risk, on the other hand, of offending the chief. When a chief clashed with missionaries and incited his people to follow him (as happened with the secession from the Wesleyan Church in Tonga in 1885) the danger of a Church being dominated by a chief became apparent. Today the waning of the secular authority of chiefs in

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[1829-1830]

in Nuku'alofa for six months before sailing to Ha'apai. During that time he was greatly heartened and enlightened by the methods and success of Turner and Cross. He also said, "The conversation of my brethren has tended much to my improvement in the language", though he had been in Tonga a longer time than they. 797

The missionaries were quick to recognize both the strength of Taufa'ahau's personality and his earnestness. Unlike Palau at Mu'a and Ata at Hihifo, Taufa'ahau did not covet the missionaries' goods but wanted the new religion for its own sake. 797 643

When inviting Thomas to go to Ha'apai, Taufa'ahau had said to him,

> "I shall be thankful for your body only (supposing Ata would take my clothes) and I will give you native cloth if you will wear it. I will feed you free of any expense. I will build you a chapel and attend myself and send all my people to be taught." (6)

And he was as good as his word.

Thomas arrived in Lifuka on 30 January 1830. Two days later he commenced with a school of 110 men and boys. His wife had 95 women and girls in the afternoons. The men's school began at 6 a.m. Thomas had to write out their lessons by hand, but, in spite of the labour, he was overjoyed with the complete change from unresponsive Hihifo. Instead of a hostile Ata he had Taufa'ahau in his school learning to read and write. On 19 February 1830 Thomas reported that he had "many chiefs venerable for their hoary locks sitting with little children learning their alphabet". Lifuka resembled Nuku'alofa — a community devoted to daily instruction and public worship. 797 872 212

Before Thomas arrived in January 1830 there were only three out of eighteen islands of the Ha'apai group that had not yielded to Taufa'ahau's rugged campaign for the new faith; these were Nomuka, Tungua, and 'Uiha. The chief of Nomuka had come to 'Uiha and conspired with its people to capture Taufa'ahau and kill his supporters, but Taufa'ahau eluded these designs. Tungua was the seat of the Tamaha, the "Sacred Child", regarded by the people as the highest personage in Tonga and by the missionaries as "the main pillar of idolatry".(7) 'Uiha was the residence of Taufa'ahau's family and their burial-place but its chief was hostile towards him personally at that time. The Ha'apai chiefs who were opposed to Taufa'ahau's policy endeavoured to enlist the assistance of Finau 'Ulukalala III, ruler of Vava'u. Finau had come to Lifuka in July 1830 for the marriage festival of his wife's sister to Taufa'ahau, one of Taufa'ahau's polygamous pre-Christian marriages. Taufa'ahau was rejecting her, after living with her for a year but, before she returned to Vava'u, a festival was held, in compliance with Tongan custom.(8) This festival gave Taufa'ahau's opponents the opportunity to force him to change his policy or to put an end to him altogether. 643 [797] [625] 643 622 [595]

The plot to kill Taufa'ahau in July 1830 (which occurred shortly after the L.M.S. leader, John Williams, had called at Lifuka and sailed on to Samoa) was foiled under remarkable circumstances. During the festival Taufa'ahau suddenly became violently ill. It transpired that he had accepted a drink from a hostile chief and there seemed no doubt that it had contained poison. Before long, preparations were being made to take Taufa'ahau to 'Uiha in case of death and for his burial there. At this juncture a canoe from Tongatapu brought 'Ulakai, the Christian chief and an uncle of Taufa'ahau, and he "proved a hindrance in their way", in the words of Peter Vi. The watchful Peter called on Thomas and Cross (the latter then on a visit to Lifuka) to save the Christian leader. They

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[1874-1885]

The possibility of the Mission relinquishing the primary schools had been ventilated previously. The letter of 24 March 1874, from the king and chiefs, had asked for the Church primary schools to be handed over to the Government. The Tonga District Meeting, with Baker in the chair, dealt with this request on 30 November 1874, and decided

> "that the day schools connected with the Mission be maintained efficiently until adequate provision is made by the Government for primary education . . . The best plan for many years yet will be a denominational system." (27)

Immediately following upon this, the Mission Board, on 3 January 1875, had resolved to maintain efficiently all its day schools in Tonga "until adequate provision is made by the Government for primary education". Now that Baker had taken action to acquire the Church schools, without notice, the Mission Board, on 31 August 1881, reiterated its belief that

> "the time has not arrived when the Church schools can, with advantage to the people of Tonga, be relinquished." (28)

Compensation was promised, but never paid, for the land and school buildings.

In Sydney, in 1878, when Oldmeadow was on furlough, he had heard Baker speak eulogistically about the Church day schools and Tupou College. After Baker took over the schools in 1881, he met Oldmeadow in Vava'u. Oldmeadow expressed disagreement with his action. Baker contended that he was following the example of the Australian colonies which had set up a secular educational system. Oldmeadow argued, as other missionaries had done, that the circumstances in a recently-evangelized country such as Tonga were quite different from those in Australia. Following this conversation, Oldmeadow wrote in his journal:

> "I have taken a great deal of pains to discover his [Baker's] object, and I am bound to confess that the conclusion I have been obliged to come to is that it must be simply spite and greed of power — spite against the Conference by which he was forced to retire from the ministry as they would not allow him to be both virtual Premier and missionary in one, and spite against an individual in particular who in connection with Tupou College had had so much to do with the success which had been achieved in the matter of education. . . .
>
> "For a long time I fought against the conviction, but after long and careful watching I am obliged to adopt it that it was an act of vindictiveness, knowing that the irritation caused would be severe against the individual in question [i.e., Moulton], and a desire to lessen the influence of the Church on the one hand and increase his own on the other. And how has it succeeded!" (29)

The Government college began in 1882, with Mr. J. W. Roberts as Principal. Baker had known Roberts in his youthful days at Castlemaine, Victoria. He was a skilful teacher and a Methodist local preacher. Among other things Roberts introduced a system of Pitman shorthand in Tongan. It was decreed that Government positions in future would be given only to those trained in the Government College, a thrust against Tupou College which had prepared men for both Government and Church offices since 1866. At first the Government College students attended the Wesleyan services in Zion Church but, because of the presence of Tupou College students and the growing ill-feeling between the two parties, Roberts kept his lads at the Government College and conducted services for them there. After the secession in 1885 the Government College trained men who became pastors in the Free Church. This was one of many evidences of Government support for the Free Church.

Against mounting odds Moulton continued his teaching, hymn-writing, and church administration. He had practical problems also. During a storm one

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unemployment and an increase in crime have followed. In the two years, from 1966 to 1968, there was an increase of 46% in juvenile crime. It was estimated in 1968 that there would be 11,000 youths leaving school in the following ten years, with only 1,400 jobs available for them in Government, commerce and industry — and no gardening land for a large proportion of them. 161 162 674 464

In 1975 it is estimated that about one-half of the taxpayers have no land in spite of their legal entitlement. Because of the social and economic consequences of this disturbing situation the Methodist General Conference in Sydney in May 1975 expressed its sympathetic concern to the people of Tonga. 162 423 797

Migration to New Zealand, California, Hawaii, and elsewhere, has grown considerably but has done little to mitigate the population problem. Many of the large number of Tongans educated overseas return to find a social and cultural gap as well as difficulty in gaining suitable employment. Tourism has given limited relief, in the sale of artifacts as well as fruit and vegetables. Against this are ill-effects arising from contact with the undesirable types of tourists. 167 184 464 457 177

Faced with economic conditions which affect the people's moral and religious well-being, the Church has had to re-assess its own situation and its impact on the community. It has failed to increase in proportion to the growth of population. In 1926 the Free Wesleyan Church was 59%, in 1956 49.75%, in 1966 49.85%. The Mormons who were 2.3% in 1931 were 7.15% in 1966. In 1966 the Roman Catholics were 15.9%, the Free Church 14.3%, Church of Tonga 8.9%, Seventh Day Adventists 1.08%. New sects, including Pentecostalists, Jehovah's Witnesses and Baha'i, have entered the country. 795 795 162

The Free Wesleyan Church finds some satisfaction in the quality of its ministry and in the development of its organization. In 1970 it had 13 ministers with L.Th. diplomas, three with Diplomas in Religious Education (Melbourne College of Divinity), one Bachelor of Arts, two Bachelors of Divinity, one Doctor of Divinity. The Pacific Theological College in Suva, for advanced theological education, is supported by the Free Wesleyan Church and other Churches in many Pacific Islands groups. Greater attention has been given to improved organization and literature for Sunday Schools and youth groups. The Friendly Islands Bookshop was established in 1973 through the initiative of the Connexional Secretary, John M. Connan, B.Sc., B.D., to provide more material in English and Tongan for a people increasingly capable of benefiting from good literature. 795 793 795 444 212

At the local level religion still plays a major part in the Tongans' family and community life. The teachings and methods of the early missionaries have been continued, with the opportunities these have provided for singing, extemporaneous prayer and testimony in the services and "class meetings" that suit the Tongans' temperament. New forms, especially for young people, such as the Christian Endeavour Society, have been added. The three Churches which have sprung from the Wesleyan stock have generally followed the same pattern. What is distressing is the spectacle of division in even small villages. Two, and sometimes three, congregations worship simultaneously and not far apart from each other, using similar hymns and forms of worship, proclaiming the same doctrines, observing the same procedures — early Sunday morning prayer-meeting, two Sunday services, Sunday School, mid-week service, mid-week prayer meetings, "class meetings" for members, and the ever-popular choir practices. In many villages in recent years the rivalry has been worsened by the presence of other denominations also, with a total of five, six or more in some villages. 771

/29 cont./

181 European it is a particular pleasure to listen to the well-formulated
537 speech of an older--or even younger--native often delivered with
brilliant rhetoric. The ability to speak freely and with self-
[212] assurance which is characteristic of most of these islanders is im-
pressive, and it has not been lost in spite of the almost universal
knowledge of reading and writing. Through the "liberation" of the
181 commoners who were able to move up to more important positions in-
565 volving the need to make speeches ("town officer," /cited in English/
178 "district officer," /cited in English/ preacher, lay preacher, teacher,
179 host and guests at festivities), the circle of speakers has been
537 considerably enlarged resulting in having the European influence
contribute indirectly to the furthering of this rather general gift.

181 These natives were and are quite intelligent. With their
153 intellectual gifts they outdo some of the other South Sea peoples,
which is evidenced, for example, by numerous examinations in the
Central Medical School /cited in English/ in Fiji where some of the
native intelligentsia of the British South Sea colonies is concentrated
and where Tongans were frequently able to attain first place. The
superior intelligence of this people has been shown in the past and at
present by their great interest in learning and their special ability
to take on something new. Interested in virtually everything strange
181 and new, regarding European knowledge as the key to recognition and
153 rank among their compatriots, almost all Tonga strive to absorb
185 everything that can be learned, and even on the smallest islands the
goal youngsters strive for is to be allowed, after their village
school, to attend a college on Tongatapu, whereas parents, often
through certain privations, take pride in helping their children
receive this education. (50)

[565] 50. The "liberation" of the commoners
[178]

/219 cont./

287 usually does herself with a wooden rod and blackish-brown color (a
[386] mixture of koka-color and the soot of burned Aleurites).
[531]

The tapa lengths are folded and rolled into balls and kept in the dwelling of the owner who, in the course of time, cuts off pieces as needed.

287 There are three types of tapa, according to the methods of dyeing:
531
[386]

1. ngatu tahina:

This most important, because universally used, tapa is dyed a solid brown with the exception of the border and certain parts of the decoration. The patterns are brought out with dark brown or blackish-
[212] brown lines. They represent, for example, the /220/ adornment of chieftains, striking or historically noteworthy landscape motifs, symbols of the modern Tongan state (star, crown, dove, swords), parts of ancient Tongan chieftains' houses, as well as the new palace of the king and desirable European objects such as the bicycle and gramaphone, and some also have inscriptions (block letters) which explain the meaning of individual decorations (for example, KOE SISI O TAUFAAHAU = this is the ornamental belt (sisi) of the Taufa'ahua; KOE KALAUNI = this is the crown; KOE PASIKALA = this is a bicycle; KALAMIFONI = gramaphone).

287 The ngatu tahina is used as a bed cover (also bed pad) for men
[513] women and children, to partition rooms and as ceiling covers in the
[353] house, as wedding clothes, to lay a corpse to rest, as a gift, and
[342] as a dance dress; in each case sufficiently large pieces are cut
[292] from the roll.
[764]
[431]

2. ngatu tapa'i ngatu:

287 Tapa of this kind has patterns outlined in dark brown (blackish-
531 brown) on a surface that has been left more or less white. Their
[212] patterns are also symbols of ancient and modern Tonga (for example,

/220 cont./

287
531
212
a certain flower ornament

Pattern on a ngato tapa 'i ngatu: a spitfire fighter plane (Expedition Collection, No. 27)

of a chief, parts of ancient Tongan buildings and houses of chiefs, striking landscapes, the queen's fan, the flag of Tonga, a spitfire fighter plane that the Tongans gave England in the second World War, and a nautical mark in the harbor of Neiafu), and some of them are explained by block-letter inscriptions.

287
[513]
[353]
[342]
[431]
[292]
[764]
Bast cloth of this kind is used especially as bed covers, to divide up and decorate rooms in the dwelling as well as to cover the ceiling of these, and as gifts; it is also used occasionally as a wedding and a dance dress and to cover a corpse.

3. ngatu 'uli:

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[386]
This type of tapa is dark brown to blackish-brown (brown koka color and blackish koka and Aleurites soot). It is decorated with print panels (chiefly with the "manulua" pattern, namely, cruciform triangular patterns), or /221/ else patterns are dispensed with and the lines of the coconut fiber cords that were previously wrapped around the "drum" stand out as the pattern on the entire blackish surface.

287
[513]
[431]
[764]
This tapa is used chiefly as bed pad (on the top mat), as a wedding gift and as a cover on which to lay a corpse.

/228 cont./

512
527
(592)

592. Children also attend Sunday school.
796
794 in which most of the natives (of both sexes and all ages) take part.
252 Chiefly in the morning (around eight o'clock) the men, with the help
264 of their wives, prepare an earth-oven (593)

593. This work, of course, the men also performed during the week if their wives have not prepared food in a simple manner.

the contents of which, around ten or eleven o'clock, serve as the main
264 Sunday dinner, the leftovers of which they like to eat in the afternoon as a second meal. As for the rest of the day, they prefer to spend it
574 sleeping and chatting and also paying visits; some Tongans read the
212 bible for a long time (as they often do evenings during the rest of the
571 week), and in every village men belonging to individual community groups
264 gather for the gala meal of thanksgiving sponsored by the church (faka-afe).

512 The daily routine of the Tongans, like their division of labor, essentially does not change throughout the seasons. Not only the population in general, (594)

463
461 594. The daily schedule of Tongans who have special professions (for example, teachers, physicians, clerks, government employees) is, of course, determined by their work.

but also many nobles, in contrast to the past, spend their days in this manner, provided they do not hold an office that carries with it a special honor.

512 Thus the daily routine reflects the changes, the transformation of
177 Tongan culture: Included in the array of traditional tasks, duties
178 and leisure activities are new activities (595)
527

595. Copra-production; clothes washing; church duties; attendance at church services, prayers,

/273 cont./

871 177 [797] an 1826 by the Wesleyan missionaries because these messengers of the faith regarded the transmission of European knowledge an indispensable prerequisite for the successful work of conversion. European teaching increased more and more in the course of decades, and soon had considerable success among these islanders who were intelligent and for the most part eager to learn. Almost all Tongan adults living in the Archipelago, of all ages and ranks, have attended one of the schools now run by the government and by the various religious groups. The natives have thus largely adopted the average school knowledge of the whites.

212 Today, among this once illiterate people, there are only a few who cannot read and write. Of the adult Tongans of both sexes up to about 40 or 50 years of age approximately 97 to 99 percent can read and write, while at least 70 to 75 percent of the older generation have some experience in it.

803 179 /274/ The vast majority of Tongans, who knew the decimal system even in the pre-European era, (745)

745. See E.A.W. von Zimmermann, Australien... /Australia/ vol. I. section 2. p. 654.

are now likewise skilled in European-style math (approximately 85 to 100 percent, depending on their stage of life).

871 814 The "history of Tonga" (as taught in schools today) is known to almost all the younger generation, whereas the older generation was usually not taught this newer subject. About half the natives over 50 years, and about 80 - 90 percent of the younger Tongan men and women have become acquainted with the "history of the world," (especially the history of Great Britain.)

Most of the younger natives are well aquainted with the geography of the Tonga Archipelago--especially through their school (map-drawing) --whereas the information of the older generation (on account of the newness of this teaching subject) is limited to personal experiences

/274 cont./ Many older Tongan men and
805 829 women still /275/ can not tell their age, (748)

748. Years were not counted in ancient Tongan times (see ibid. p. 164).

whereas members of the middle-aged generation and especially the young
212 are mostly able to give their exact year of birth. For most of the natives reading is limited to the study of the bible and other church
(205) writings. The average native needs to write only when he has to sign his name to a document; they seldom write a letter to a relative or friend, although there is postal service in the Archipelago.

772 823 177 The conception of the world (749)

749. In ancient Tongan times the natives apparently visualized the world as flat with abrupt precipices on the edges (see J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 134), and they believed there were a number of superimposed sky-domes (see E.E.V. Collcott, Collcott, "Tongan astronomy"... pp. 157/158). For the natives their Archipelago was, of course, the most important of all island territories and, in a way, the center of their known world.

of these islanders was changed fundamentally not only by their Christianization, (750)

750. See p. 375 ff.

772 177 but also by the knowledge imparted in their schools. The knowledge and belief of the whites took the place of the old myths and tales.

Geography and history, cosmology (751)

(821) 751. Modern cosmology, however, did not lead to a revival of a thorough knowledge of the stars which the old Tongans had and which was lost through the use of the compass (see E.E.V. Collcott, "Tongan astronomy..." pp. 157/158).

and European division of time brought a rational conception of the world which was relatively well understood and adopted by many natives. For
(771) (212) (538) most of these natives it is not to be separated from the religious conception of the world of Christianity in which it seems embedded

100: Koch--417 E-4,5 (1951-1952) 1955 OU9 Tonga OU9

/275 cont./

772 771 177 212 538 and to which school-knowledge of these natives is still to a large extent subordinated--in accordance with the wishes of the early missionaries; even the art of reading, for the majority of present-day Tongans is--as it was more than a century ago--almost exclusively meant for bible-study and the reading of other church literature, since there is still no secular literature in the Tongan language.

871 872 The Tongan school system has constantly expended and increased. Today there is compulsory education for all children between the ages of six and fourteen, with free school attendance. In 1950 (752)

[113] 752. See Report of the Department of Education for the Year 1950 /cited in English/. Nuku'alofa 1951. p.1.

there were 134 elementary schools on the Islands; 70 of them were run by the government, 35 by the Free Wesleyan Church, 21 by the Roman Catholic Church, four by the Adventists, two by the Free Church (Wesleyan), one by the Anglican Church and one by the Mormons. In them 335 teachers taught 10,626 boys and girls. (753)

753. Ibid. p. 1.

/276/ These schools, like the English elementary schools, teach basic knowledge; some subjects are adapted to specific Tongan needs. Teaching includes: arithmetic (addition, subtraction, multiplication, division, fractions), English (reading, spelling, translation, dictation, grammar, composition, letter-writing), Tongan language (reading, dictation, composition), hygiene (and first aid), geography (the Tonga-Archipelago and the Pacific), history (especially of Tonga), nature study (plants and animals), music (singing, scales), penmanship, drawing, gymnastics, agriculture (once a week plantation work), (sewing) and Tongan handcraft (plaiting, making tapa printing plates, woodwork such as boat models and paddles, etc.). The schools organized by the churches also give religious instruction. Teaching is done in

/280 cont./

871
181
185 often do not want to return home, but try to stay in college.

and their parents, who see in such an education an honor for their children, support them as much as they can by providing them with the means for this school attendance. Many of the older people regard the present time as "the golden age of education" and strive to help the young people towards an education which they themselves were unable to obtain; in some villages there have even been small groups who in a planned way (for example, by raising funds through their copra sales or the breeding and sale of pigs) collect money with which young people from the settlements are to be sent to colleges on the main island or to schools abroad. This open-mindedness of a largely farming popula-
[212] tion is amazing, and it gives one a strange feeling to find, for example, on one of the smallest islands of the Archipelago, an old man in a lonely hut on plantation land who is able to write his name and read printed matter in the Tongan language perfectly.

871
554
464 The schooling of these natives, which is certainly too generous in view of their ordinary conditions, does not, from all appearances, have a harmful influence on their character. The young people who have gone to college and then, after a successful final examination, return to their small home island because they are unable to find an opening in any of the higher positions (especially in administration, health, education and the church), usually take up the work of their fathers as a matter of course; they become farmers, and they are generally neither arrogant because they know more than most of their fellow-villagers, nor are they discontent because they /281/ cannot apply their diverse knowledge; rather, they differ from the natives of the same age who have attended only the elementary school by a more modest and courteous conduct. These returnees, however, do not have a noticeable influence on the community.

102: Brierly T-3 (1850) 1852
OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu

compliment explained to him, he immediately thanked Captain Keppel and his officers. After dinner chairs were taken on deck and the party adjourned to the poop, where the band played a variety of airs, opera pieces, &c., with which his Majesty appeared much pleased, saying at the end of every piece, "Mālo" (very good), adding slowly with a deep bass voice, "Māléeah" (very sweet). Coffee being served on deck, he laughed at our taking such a variety of things at one meal, but drank two cups which he half filled with sugar. He then made a short speech addressed to Captain Keppel to the purpose "That he was proud a vessel so large, and belonging to so great a nation, should come to see him who was so weak and his people so few. That it made him feel glad to see Captain Keppel and so many officers;" and then, alluding to Tahiti, said, "that he knew of the confusion caused by the French; that he wished not their visits and friendship; that theirs was (unga mátē) a deadly shade, observing, that he did not say this because he was sitting beside one of the Queen of England's great chiefs, and on board her ship, but that, if his departed ancestors could come to speak there that day, they would all bear witness to his truth, and that if every member of his body had a voice they would all say, thank you." He spoke fluently, with pleasing intonation and dignified manner. We were told that the Meander was the largest vessel he had ever seen, and he was very particular in his inquiries as to the number of men and guns she carried, and expressed some curiosity to know where and how the men all slept. To explain this, a hammock was taken out of the nettings and slung under the spanker-boom. While this was being done, the men forward happened to be hoisting a bullock out of the boom-boats to be lowered on to the main deck for killing. This caught his attention and seemed to interest him more than anything that had been shown him, and forgetting for a moment his usually dignified manner, he picked up his tappa gown, and ran forward to look at it.

About seven o'clock he took his departure under a royal salute; and at eight, a number of rockets were sent up, all the natives coming down to the beach to look at them, calling out to each other as they watched them ascending, "See! see! how they walk in the sky!"

June 22nd.—Hearing that the king was to give another great kava party to-day, I went with several others to see it. There was, however, nothing new in the ceremony, but on this occasion I succeeded in getting a sketch of his Majesty, who soon perceived what I was about, and when it was finished, desired to see it. The chiefs also were all curious to see it, passing it from one to another, saying as they looked at it, "It *is* the king." When I asked through one of the missionaries for the royal autograph, the

102: Brierly T-3 (1850) 1852
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king said he did not like to write before so many white men, who were all so much wiser, and who knew how to write so much better than himself, but that he would write it for me when alone. After the Assembly broke up we went to the palace, where we had called the day before, and found the queen prepared to receive us. Her Majesty was seated on mats in the centre, or chief place of the apartment; the king sitting on her right, and three principal chiefs on her left hand, the rest of the chiefs all sitting round in a great semicircle on the lawn before the palace, as they had done at the kava party. The queen is about thirty, very stout, with a round good-natured face, large and full eyes, with a very pleasing expression, small mouth and very white regular teeth. She wore her hair short, and dressed with a white powder rubbed on wet, and then combed so as to stand up like the front of a barrister's wig—a mode of hair-dressing by no means unbecoming in the Tongaese women. She received us without rising, smiling and holding out her hand as we were presented. There were present on this occasion a number of Feejee chiefs, who had just arrived with one of their principal men. They had their faces and necks blackened, and wore enormous bushes of hair, dyed different colours and curiously arranged, very much resembling in this respect the natives of the Louisiade. They were smaller and much darker in colour than the Tongaese, with a wild restlessness of expression, quite different from the placid manner of the Friendly Islanders. Upon seeing me the king remembered my wish to have his autograph, and taking my sketching tablet and pencil with him into the royal bed-chamber—a small room divided by a mat-partition from the one in which we sat—he wrote his name, and brought them out to me again. Wishing to have that of the queen, whom I had heard could write, I ventured to ask for hers also. She appeared pleased with the idea, and smiling, at once got up from her mats, and going into the bedroom, as the king had done, returned again immediately, having placed her own signature, "Charlotte Lube," or Charlotte the Dove, below that of her royal master. The king signs "George Tubou," or George the King.

I had tried the day before, without success, to procure one of the musical instruments mentioned by Cook, a kind of flute played with the nose, called a "fung fung," and a native girl had undertaken to find or make one for me to be ready when we came on shore to-day. Hearing that she had kept her promise, and moreover was quite prepared to show me the mode of playing it, I slipped away from the Royal party, and started off with one of the missionaries to go up to his house, that I might see the performance, but as we met her upon the road, bringing three or four of the flutes with her, we turned and walked back. When, how-